Workers of the World, Unite!

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PROGRESSIVE FIGHT IN DETROIT CIO

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DOBBS CALLS ON WALLACE TO BACK 18

Farrell Dobbs released to the press the following letter, which he had sent to Henry Wallace concerning the campaign for a presidential pardon for the Minneapolis Case defendants, the first victims of the undemocratic Smith "Gag" Act.

FARRELL DOBBS

Dear Mr. Wallace:

In response to a question by Norman Thomas, Socialist Party presidential candidate during the Progressive Party Convention in Philadelphia, you stated that you would support the restoration of civil rights to the 18 defendants in the Minneapolis Labor Case. These 18 members of the Socialist Workers Party and Minneapolis Truckdrivers Local 544-CIO were the first victims of the Smith Gag Act.

You immediately stated your opposition to the second important set of indictments under that vicious Act, the indictment of the 12 Communist Party leaders.

On August 14 the Civil Rights Defense Committee addressed a letter to all presidential candidates asking them to state their position on the pardon petition of the 18. To date, no reply has been received from you on this matter.

It is common knowledge that the Communist Party leaders have sabotaged from the first any efforts to assist the defense in the Minneapolis case, because of their hatred of Trotskyism. Their followers blocked the efforts of some delegates at the Progressive Party convention to put your party on record in favor of pardon for the 18.

In view of the charges made that the Communist Party followers determine the policies of the Progressive Party and in view of your statement to the press in Philadelphia, it would appear imperative that you make your position absolutely plain on this question.

The Minneapolis Case is a vital test of civil liberties. It set the precedent whereby the 12 CP leaders have been indicted; Over 500 CIO, AFL and Independent unions representing over 5 million workers have endorsed the CRDC campaign on behalf of the 18.

You have frequently criticized President Truman for his do-nothing attitude on important questions of civil liberties. Here is one case where he can act to rectify an injustice. It is all the more necessary that you state your position since this frameup and railroading to prison of the 18 occurred while you were Vice President under the Roosevelt administration.

Very truly yours,

FARRELL DOBBS,
Socialist Workers Party candidate for President of the U. S.

New York Teamsters Strike

Trucking in New York City was tied up by a walkout of members of AFL Local 807, International Brotherhood of Teamsters after they turned down employer proposal of a 15-cent hourly pay boost by a 2 to 1 vote. Left, members announce results of vote. Right, at Holland Tunnel exit, strikers direct truckdriver to turn around and go back to New Jersey. (Federated Pictures)

Conflict Over Germany Highlights War Trends

In Europe, Germany was the scene of the final battles of World War II. Three years later, that ravaged land still remains a battleground. It would be a mistake, however, to consider the bitter conflict now raging there between Moscow and the Anglo-American powers as an epilogue on which the curtain of enduring peace will presently descend.

All the recent squabbles over Germany such as the organization of a West German regime, the dispute over currency "reform," the blockade of Berlin, the secret parleys in Moscow, the Stalinist demonstrations at the Berlin City Hall, the diplomatic thrusts and counter-thrusts, the jockeying and shouting and shoving—**all these can be understood properly as nothing but tactical episodes in the "cold" war that sooner or later will burst into atomic flames if the plans of American Big Business are carried out according to schedule.**

U. S. STRATEGY

Having crushed their German rivals, the Anglo-American imperialists are now driving to convert Germany into a bastion against the Soviet Union and ultimately a springboard for attack, this time with the German capitalists in the role of decidedly junior partners.

All the moves of American imperialism and its satellites in Germany today are calculated to further this aim. The organization of a West German regime is the preliminary step to the constitution of a puppet government that will make a bid for all of Germany, including the regions now occupied by Russian troops. The currency "reform" is designed as an economic and financial blow against the Soviet occupation. **The diplomatic and propaganda campaign is designed to win the widest possible support among the German people for the Allies as well as prepare public opinion at home for stiffer moves.**

Anglo-American imperialism is on the offensive and is moving from vast economic and military strength against war-weakened Russia.

This is understood by the Kremlin. The Stalinist regime stands in deadly fear of the western economic giant. Its moves, no matter how desperate they may appear on the surface, are defensive in character, designed to win time, to throw obstacles in the path of the advancing war machine.

KREMLIN'S MOVE

The raids on Berlin City Hall thus aim to weaken, undermine and, if possible, destroy Anglo-American control and influence in the administration of Berlin. If the Stalinists can install a city government wholly under Moscow's influence, such a regime could then try to offset the political effect of the Western Regime and call for the unification of Germany under its control.

The weakness of this move can be judged from the fact that although Berlin is the traditional capital and political center of Germany, the Western Regime set up by Washington and London rules over some 45,000,000 people, while the Stalinist-dominated regime rules over about 20,000,000. **The industrial resources at the disposal of the Western Regime reveal the disproportion still more clearly. Before the war, this part of Germany produced 86% of the country's steel, 80% of the coal, 61% of all industrial products and 45% of the food.**

Nevertheless, the attempt to convert Berlin into a Stalinist fortress was the strongest counter-move Moscow dared make. Thus the question of control over Berlin flared into the headlines, temporarily obscuring the profounder issues at stake.

Against this background, envoys of Washington, London and Paris met in Moscow for a series of negotiations with the Kremlin's representatives. In the notorious tradition of imperialist diplomacy, these meetings were held in deep secrecy. Neither the capitalist powers nor the reactionary Moscow regime cared to have the people of the world listen in on their discussions.

None of the participants, however, nor their mouthpieces expected much from the secret parleys. At best they hoped to reach a temporary compromise over Berlin. Some of the commentators in the capitalist press who think that Moscow holds the edge in the Berlin dispute hoped that a face-saving formula for the western powers might come out of the conversations.

No commentator had the slightest expectation that the big questions of Germany's fate and of enduring world peace would be settled or indeed even discussed.

REAL TREND

While the diplomats haggled and bargained in the dark, the real trend was dramatically underlined by two events. In the United States, the "peacetime" draft went ahead as blueprinted and the generation that has reached adulthood since the opening of World War II began training for World War III. In Great Britain, the government formally announced it had begun "rearmament."

If the final decision remains with either the ruling oligarchy of the USSR or the imperialists of the west, it will be only a question of time until shooting war begins. But the final decision still remains with the working people, the vast masses who have been excluded from the secret councils and parleys of the rulers.

Lessons of the 13th Convention Of UE-CIO Union

Continued Stalinist Control of Group Shows Need for Reorganizing Opposition

By C. Thomas

With Stalinist influence in the American trade union movement definitely on the wane, observers focused their attention on the 13th national convention of the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, currently meeting here in New York City. Claiming some 600,000 members, the UE is the largest and most strategic union yet remaining under Stalinist domination.

After the first few sessions it became evident that the Stalinist leadership controlled about 75% of the voting strength at the convention. This is approximately the same ratio as the last convention indicating that the opposition led by James B. Carey, national secretary-treasurer of the CIO, had made little headway in the ensuing year.

The past year has witnessed a sharp decline of Stalinist influence in the unions. Completely routed in some unions they face an increasing opposition in others. It would seem, superficially at least, that the UE was an exception. But the appearance of Stalinist strength reflected at the convention is only a surface appearance. Underneath the cauldron is simmering!

SECESSION MOVEMENT

In the last year the secession movement in the UE has reached alarming proportions. Led by extreme right wing elements, closely allied with the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, important sections left the UE and affiliated to other unions. The ease with which they did so testified that the Stalinist leadership enjoyed little support in the ranks.

In addition, isolated opposition groups developed in many localities, taking control of numerous local unions away from the Stalinists. Splits in the lower union apparatus gave rise to opposition movements in locals previously under complete Stalinist domination. All of these manifestations, reflecting the growing discontent of the ranks with the present leadership, are indications that a wide-spread opposition movement is boiling up in the UE.

That the Stalinist leadership has kept the lid on thus far is due primarily to the inept leadership and bankrupt policy of the national Carey-Block opposition group. After the last convention, the Carey-Block group, organized as the UE Members for Democratic Action, disintegrated. Its extreme right wing, particularly the ACTU elements, led the secession movement. Relying primarily on red-baiting as its main stock-in-trade, the UE-MDA became discredited among the progressive opponents of Stalinism.

OPPOSITION GROUP

The advanced stage of disintegration was revealed at an opposition caucus meeting held the day before the present convention opened. At this meeting the opposition leaders admitted they had no idea what strength the opposition could muster at the convention. They were completely out of touch with the local opposition groups throughout the country.

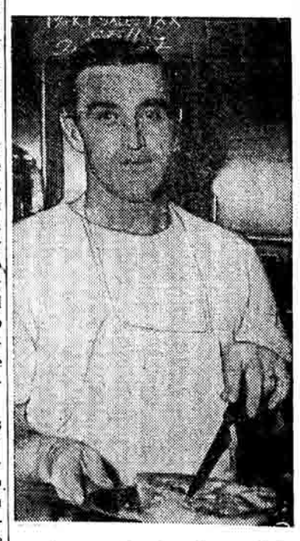
The most significant thing about the caucus meeting was the relative absence of red-baiting. It would appear the opposition leaders learned something from the UE-MDA fiasco. But if they learned that red-baiting is no sure-fire "program" for rallying significant support they learned little else. They proposed to mobilize the opposition for struggle against Stalinism under the inspiring banner of strict adherence to "National CIO policy."

Translated into concrete terms by J. B. Carey, "CIO policy" meant political support to strike-breaker Truman, whooping it up for the reactionary Marshall Plan and supporting the get-tough-with-Russia foreign policy of the State Department. Needless to say, this scintillating platform succeeded only in repelling the anti-Stalinist militants.

It was also decided at the first caucus meeting, to drop the name UE-MDA and select another designation for the opposition. But changing labels is not enough! The opposition can be welded into a powerful national group capable of successfully challenging the reactionary Stalinist leadership, only by breaking decisively with the snivelling, bootlicking, bellycrawling, policy of abject surrender to the political agents of Big Business.

To build a sturdy platform able to encompass such an opposition requires stouter timber than the rotten planks offered by the present opposition leaders. It requires above all, as the keystone of that platform, a policy of independent and militant labor action on both the economic and political field.

Eye for Sale



A carpenter by day and a restaurant worker by night, Victor St. Cyr of Woonsocket, R. I., still can't make enough to support his wife and 7 children. St. Cyr has offered to sell his right eye for $10,000 as a last desperate measure to save the children, all under 12, from an orphanage.

QUILL, STALINISTS GIRD FOR SHOWDOWN IN TWU

NEW YORK, Sept. 8—The International Executive Board of the CIO Transport Union has just concluded its regular session where it attempted to bolster the rapidly waning Stalinist strength by a series of resolutions blasting union president Michael Quill. The Board denounced the pro-Truman stand of Quill.

Stalinist control of the union's top committee is their last factional stronghold, and they face the loss of that in the approaching national convention of the union scheduled for Chicago on Dec. 5.

Quill predicted at the Board meeting that the Stalinists will be outvoted by 10 to 1 at the convention. The Stalinist-controlled Board tacitly conceded Quill's victory at the convention by ruling a change in the union's election procedure. They propose to take the power to elect officers away from the convention and substitute instead a membership referendum to run for 40 days.

The Board further passed a resolution attacking Quill's "wage policy." Quill called for fare increases on New York's city owned and privately owned transit lines during the recent wage negotiations and maintained that fare increases provided the only basis for continued benefits to transit workers.

The Stalinists in the TWU originated and supported all along this false program. Now that power is slipping from their hands, they are attempting to "play militant," hoping to refurbish their reputations.

As if to underline the duplicity of the Stalinist-dominated faction, Austin Hogan, who had voted for condemnation of the "wage policy" at the Board meeting, appeared the following day at a Public Service Commission hearing as spokesman for a TWU committee urging that the commission grant a fare increase to the private bus lines.

In retaliation for the defeat he suffered at the Board meeting Quill answered with several blows at the Stalinists in TWU's largest local, Local 100 of New York. The Local executive board dismissed the union's attorney, Harry Sacher, who supports the Stalinists. The local's board also condemned the International Board for its decisions.

Quill is fighting on Philip Murray's platform against the Stalinist faction. As the TWU has a considerable conservative civil-service-minded membership, Quill finds solid support for his attacks.

The Stalinist leadership has no superior economic program to offer and its record of leadership is bad. It is commonly believed that the Stalinists face a crushing defeat at the coming convention.

Maritime Strikers Solid on West Coast

SAN FRANCISCO, Sept. 4—Every port on the Pacific Coast from San Pedro, California to Seattle, Washington is tied-up as of midnight Sept. 1. Not a single ship moves as 12,000 CIO longshoremen and 10,000 members of the independent Marine Firemen's Union and CIO Marine Cooks and Stewards march the picketlines. Even the tanker fleet is tied-up by striking CIO Oil Workers who have struck all refineries in California in an independent fight of their own for higher wages.

The longshoremen and firemen and cooks were forced on strike by the adamant refusal of the ship operators and waterfront employers to recognize the principle of the union hiring hall, or to budge from their position that the unions continue their no-strike pledge and tie themselves to the vicious compulsory arbitration machinery of the old contract.

Major demands of the striking maritime unions all run along similar lines.

LONGSHOREMEN'S DEMANDS

The major demands of the longshoremen are as follows: 1) The hiring hall set-up as is. 2) 18 cents an hour pay increase, bringing the straight-time scale from $1.67 to $1.85. Overtime after 6 hours at time-and-a-half. 3) Elimination of all penalty clauses of the contract, especially those applying to stoppage of work.

Negotiations lasting five months proceeded under the pall of government injunction and suits filed by the employers against the unions. As the period of the injunction ran out and the date set for strike action drew near, the unions compromised many of their minor demands, even making concessions on their modest wage requests. But they could not afford to give way on the key demands without jeopardizing their continued existence as independent organizations.

The employers, on the other side of the table, stiffened their resistence in the final hours of negotiations and reneged on many off-the-record commitments made in the earlier stages of bargaining.

The whole employer strategy was clearly designed to create the impression that they were proceeding in good faith and that an amicable last-minute settlement could and would be reached through negotiations. They announced that they were raising their original meager wage offers. The hiring hall question could be finally settled by the courts, so far as they were concerned. And as regards working conditions, the employers tried to create the impression that they were willing to maintain the status quo.

"FINAL OFFER"

One week before negotiations blew up the employers showed their real intent. They presented their "final offer": a miserable 5-cent an hour increase for longshoremen; an employer-run hiring hall and retention of all penalty clauses to enable them to continue their speed-up tactics on the job.

This was the "offer" that the NLRB attempted to present to rank and file longshoremen over the heads of their regularly elected officials. Under provisions of the Taft-Hartley Law, a vote was conducted on the waterfront. **Not a single ballot was cast from the 12,000 longshoremen elegible to vote. The men went down the line with the union in ignoring this union-busting maneuver.**

Having failed in their appeal to individual longshoremen against the union (and the same tactic flopped with the firemen and cooks), the employers showed their real hand. After making a few token gestures to revise their "final offer" in favor of the union demands, they abruptly broke off negotiations.

"GET TOUGH" POLICY

As longshoremen and seamen hit the picket lines the employers launched a red-baiting attack as their first move in the open struggle to smash the unions. This is hailed in the local press as the new "get tough" policy of the employers. These employers have now announced:

"All offers to all unions are now withdrawn. . .

"No more negotiations will be held and no contracts will be signed with any such unions unless and until their officers have disavowed Communism."

This type of propaganda is not only released for general consumption. It is a deliberate attempt to drive a wedge between the unions involved, some of which have already signed the Taft-Hartley non-communist affidavits.

The Firemen, for example, were among the first to comply with this provision of the law. The longshoremen and cooks unions have not signed the affidavits.

The employers now hope to palm this off as the reason for the strike on the waterfront.

Nothing could appear more hypocritical to the men on the picket lines. They know the important issues are defense of the hiring hall, protection against the post-war speed-up, and an increase in wages to meet the rising cost of living. In the struggle to defend their unions in open battle with the employers, the old spirit of solidarity among seamen and longshoremen that prevailed during the days of the 1934 strike has been rekindled.

The morale of the strikers is high.

Farrell Dobbs, SWP Presidential Candidate, sent the following telegram to Harry Bridges and James Kearney, President of Local 10 ILWU in support of the struggle of west coast longshoremen and maritime workers to defend their hiring hall and raise their standard of living:

"Socialist Workers Party pledges support to all maritime workers in fight to preserve union hiring hall. During present tour as Presidential Candidate will urge support and solidarity of all sections of the labor movement for your very just fight."

The wire was addressed to the stop-work meeting of Local 10 called in defense of the union hiring hall.

Trade Unions Under Capitalism

By H. R. Frank

In one of his last articles, "Trade Unions in the Epoch of Imperialist Decay," Trotsky wrote: "There is one common feature in the development, or more correctly the degeneration, of modern trade union organizations in the entire world: it is their drawing closely to and growing together with the state power." At the time of writing, this conclusion may have appeared premature for the American trade unions, particularly the CIO, which in 1940-41 was experiencing a new wave of insurgency and conducting militant strike battles on a dozen fronts against the industrial giants. Scarcely a year later Trotsky's thesis was fully confirmed.

After "Pearl Harbor," the trade union bureaucracy of the AFL, CIO, Mine Workers and Railroad Brotherhoods — Stalinists included—lined up to a man behind American imperialism and became the apologists and salesmen of its predatory war. The bureaucracy became the chief agency for integrating the trade unions with the war machine, restraining and disciplining workers, stamping out strikes, imposing the wage freeze, pushing the speed-up and initiating labor-management committees. In general, it sought to convert the trade unions into "labor battalion" appendages of the imperialist state.

THE 1945-46 STRIKES

The 1945-46 historic strike wave, which saw four million workers manning the picket lines and American capitalism challenged on an imposingly all-national scale, refurbished the tarnished reputations of the trade union bureaucracy, and made it appear as if the "no-strike pledge sellout of 1942-45 was a temporary phenomenon, due to the exceptional circumstances of the war.

The events that followed demonstrated that the bureaucrats' betrayal of the war years and their attempt to integrate the unions with the imperialist state—was the norm; and the relative independence of the trade union bureaucrats in the 1945-46 strike struggles — was the exceptional circumstance.

During the war years, the struggle of militants against the bureaucracy in the main CIO unions gradually built up mass support until the left wing was able to swing 40% of the votes against the no-strike pledge at the 1944 convention of the auto union. At the same time, "wild cat" strikes became increasingly common in both the auto and steel industries and the authority of the leadership was waning. With the war's end, the accumulated grievances and resentments of the workers, dammed up hitherto by the wartime no-strike pledge, burst forth in a great cataract of strikes.

The bureaucrats quickly placed themselves at the head of this strike movement to forestall the creation of a more militant rival leadership. But no sooner had the unions gained a victory and the strike wave subsided, than the bureaucracy rushed back into the arms of the capitalist state. It attempted to re-solidify its alliance in the vain hope of warding off the blows of the extreme forces of reaction and for protection against the militant sections of its own membership.

GROWING SUBSERVIENCE

This basic, direct and growing subservience of the trade union bureaucracy to the capitalist state is illustrated by the following crucial facts:

The Murrays and Greens have been tub-thumping for the Truman Doctrine and shipped AFL and CIO officials with the American Military Mission to Greece to help put over Wall Street's program of military dictatorship and impart to it a labor and democratic veneer.

The bureaucracy enrolled as a direct agency of the State Department to sell the Marshall Plan as a "civilian rehabilitation job" and a prize package of "humanitarianism," and lead within the world labor movement the counter-offensive against the Stalinist attacks on the Plan.

They emerged as direct flunkeys and timeservers of Washington, performing innumerable chores to facilitate the execution of Wall Street's imperialist program and the intensification of its "cold war" against Russia. Among a few of the more notable achievements of the bureaucracy along this line are: Helping to split the Stalinist-dominated trade union federation in France and setting up a rival trade union body with a pro-American State Department orientation; intervening in the Italian elections and advising the Italian unionists to vote for the Christian Democratic Party—the capitalist party of Wall Street and the Vatican; splitting of the Stalinist-dominated Latin American trade union federation and setting up, under Washington's aegis, a rival body.

The bureaucracy gave aid and comfort to the red-baiting campaign unloosed at home by the government and the capitalists, and they themselves actually flooded the union movement with this same anti-labor poison.

To all this is added their present desperate attempts to prop up the Democratic Party and prevent its disintegration, coupled with their attack on all third party adherents. The bureaucracy is determined to uphold and keep the unions tied to the two-party system of capitalist politics.

Thus, to properly appraise the trends and relations in the American trade union movement, we must start with the towering fact that the trade union bureaucracy has deliberately and consciously allied itself with the imperialist state, seeks to act as its "labor agency" both at home and abroad —and that this alliance determines all big questions in the trade union movement.

Campaigning With Dobbs and Carlson

By George Clarke, SWP Campaign Manager

Irving Beinin, New York Campaign Director, filed nominating petitions last Saturday in Albany for Dobbs and Carlson. The petitions contained 21,967 signatures, representing more than twice the total number required by law and at least 150 signatures for each of 61 counties in the state, three times the number needed and more signatures than was filed by the SP and the SLP. The New York Organization is now awaiting news of certification by the Secretary of State.

* * *

UTAH: Word has been received from our campaign workers that petitions for Dobbs and Carlson to place on the Utah ballot have been filed in Salt Lake City. They tell us that the petitions were in tip-top shape and they should receive official notification in short order. Historians will record two significant dates in the history of Utah: 1847 when the Mormons arrived and 1948 when the Socialist Workers Party got on the ballot.

* * *

Two of the biggest publicity items of the campaign made the press in the last week. The first was in the Detroit News where W. K. Kelsey devoted most of his column on the editorial page to us. Under the caption "A New Ticket in the Field," Kelsey introduces his column by saying, "A few days ago the Commentator (title of the column) remarked 'How the Socialist Party leadership has changed since the days of Eugene Victor Debs!' Now comes Howard Lerner, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Governor of Michigan and deposes. . ." Then after a lengthy quotation from comrade Lerner comparing Dobbs and Carlson with Debs and contrasting him with Norman Thomas, Kelsey writes brief biographies of Dobbs and Carlson and concludes with a summary of the main planks in the SWP platform.

The second item was a write-up in Time magazine of the SWP campaign accompanied by a picture of Dobbs. Naturally the write-up was in the usual cynical-nasty Time style.

And while we are on publicity, mention should be made of an editorial devoted to us in The Pontiac (Mich.) Press. The editor finds our presence as an "organized minority" a good thing and proof of the existence of the democratic process. He would do well to send his comments to Attorney General Tom Clark whose blacklisting proceeds from the opposite point of view of suppressing the minorities.

* * *

MINNEAPOLIS: Farrell Dobbs' parting shot as he left Minnesota was a press statement denouncing the egg-throwing at Wallace during his southern tour. His statement reads in part:

"President Truman and the Republican politicians deplore this treatment of Wallace only because they are fearful that he will become a martyr in the eyes of large sections of the Negro people and thus win their votes. They are not concerned about the rights of Wallace, the Negroes or anybody else. In fact, the demagogue Wallace is only accidentally a victim of persecution. Actually he has a 15-year record of doing nothing at all for the people while holding public office."

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OHIO: Akron reports a lively and interesting meeting for Grace Carlson. They report good publicity in the Beacon-Journal and the Informer. Comrade Carlson was interviewed over Akron's largest radio station, WAKR which also carried a five minute round-up of Grace's statement of the party position in the station's 15 minute news summary.

The news from Youngstown thus far is contained in a clipping from the Youngstown Vindicator which features an interview with Grace and her picture. Among other things Comrade Carlson is quoted as saying:

"Henry Wallace. . . manages to keep his hands on hard cash despite support of the Communists. . . .Roosevelt was slicker than President Truman in trying to pass off the Democratic Party as the labor party. Truman isn't so good a faker, and he doesn't have the Harvard accent and flowing language."

From Columbus, we received a report that a writ of mandamus has been filed with the State Supreme Court to compel the Board of Elections to place Harry Braverman on the ballot as Trotskyist candidate for Congress in the 19th district.

The report states that the Ohio Attorney General had caused the reversal of a similar decision made against the SLP in 1946. Braverman left Columbus with assurances from the Attorney General that the legal points on which the SWP case is based are solid. The writer is certainly correct that the "SWP here is making a determined effort to break the monopolistic stranglehold of the Republican and Democratic Parties over local politics."

* * *

The Flint comrades deserve a rousing cheer for their alertness which resulted in obtaining one-half hour of free time for Farrell Dobbs on Oct. 11 over station WFDF to answer Truman's Labor Day speech in Detroit.

Genora Dollinger, our candidate for U.S. Senate from Michigan, writes that they are distributing 10,000 leaflets at plant gates, using the sound car for four days running prior to their meeting, placing ads in the local papers and doing extensive telephoning on the meeting and radio broadcast.

* * *

CALIFORNIA: The petition drive to put Harry Press and Robert Chester, SWP candidates for State Assembly and Frank Barbaria for Congress in the San Francisco Bay Area is well under way. As of Sept. 4, 1,047 signatures of the required minimum of 1,500 signatures were collected for Harry Press.

From Los Angeles, Jean Blake writes that the petition campaign for Myra Tanner Weiss for Congress is in high gear. On Sept. 5 they had a total of 1,215 signatures. Jean writes: "The house in the 19th Congressional District which serves as headquarters for the campaign is like an old CIO strike headquarters — comrades dropping in right after work in the evening or during the day; eating in shifts, napping in shifts. . ."

Dobbs-Carlson Tours

The following are the next dates of Dobbs' tour:

Sept. 17-18 Toledo
Sept. 19 en route
Sept. 20-21 Cleveland

The following are the next dates of G. Carlson's tour:

Sept. 16-20 Buffalo
Sept. 21 en route
Sept. 22 Morgantown, W. Va.

The Socialist Workers Party Stands for Class Politics

By Art Preis

As one result of its first national election campaign, the Socialist Workers Party is receiving more publicity in capitalist newspapers than ever before in its history. A favorite sideswipe of the capitalist writers at the SWP goes something like this: The "Trotskyites" are mad at everybody—they're equally against the Democrats, the Republicans, the Wallaceites, the Norman Thomas Socialists, the Stalinist Communist Party and all the top leaders of the unions, from Murray and Reuther to Green and Tobin.

This is deliberately designed to give the impression that the Trotskyists are just a bunch of disgruntled crackpots and chronic gripers, against everything and everyone just for the hell of it.

The fact is there is a definite, clear-cut fundamental dividing line of principle between the SWP and all the other parties. That is the CLASS line.

While all the other political groups which the SWP opposes have differences among themselves—a fact that the SWP does not at all dismiss—they have nevertheless, a common position on one decisive point: They are all hostile to the political class organization of the workers. The SWP in contrast, stands four-square for a class party of the American workers.

DECEIVE WORKING CLASS

The Republicans and Democrats stand for capitalism "as is." Some, like the Wallaceites and their Stalinist supporters, proclaim "progressive" capitalism as their aim. Others, like Norman Thomas, even claim they are for socialism. But all of them, in one way or another, strive to keep the workers from uniting politically as a class and from building their own independent class party.

No matter how "progressive" or "radical" a political group may claim to be, no matter how much it professes to serve the interests of the workers, it all boils down to deception and lies if they deny to labor its own class political instrument, its own class party.

The biggest political myth the ruling capitalists are trying to sell to the workers is that this country is different from any in history, that here there are no real class divisions and, therefore, no basis for class politics.

We saw one frank expression of this fear in a series of full-page advertisements run in leading newspapers last November by the powerful McGraw-Hill publishing company. Under a huge headline, "POLITICAL ACTION—LABOR'S BLIND ALLEY," the publishers of Business Week and dozens of big trade magazines went all out in warnings to the workers not "to let their union leaders lure them down the blind alley of political action. . .Unions exist for collective bargaining, not politicking."

OK FOR THEIR CLASS

But the McGraw-Hill interests and the other big capitalists aren't against class parties at all. On the contrary, they have, as they have always had, their class parties, which they have consciously developed and maintained to serve their class interests. That is what the Republican and Democratic parties are.

The capitalists believe in class politics, all right. They are only against class politics for the majority, the workers.

The root of the capitalist opposition to a "third party"—right now—is fear that once the "two-party" myth is destroyed and the present two-party political monopoly is broken, the way will be open for a class party of labor.

That doesn't mean the capitalists aren't ready to put forward a "third party" of their own when they feel it to be to their interests. During their progressive period, back in 1854, the American industrialists organized a "third party"—the Republicans—to fight against the two old parties, the Democrats and Whigs. Today, the reactionary capitalist class has another "third party" up its sleeve—the fascist party. The American capitalists will be all for this "third party"—as were their class brothers in Germany and Italy—when they feel they can no longer maintain their rule through the "two-party system."

HAMSTRING WORKERS

The Wallace party, despite its pretensions to progressivism, is in 100% agreement with the other capitalist parties on one thing: Don't let the workers build their own party! The Wallace party is dominated from the top by capitalist-minded liberal politicians who have no connections with or responsibility to the labor movement. The credentials report at their recent convention revealed that less than 15% of the delegates had any connection with the organized labor movement.

Or take the case of Walter Reuther. The CIO auto workers union president has his ears to the ground. He knows the workers are pressing hard against the old, decrepit two-party political structure. He sees sentiment developing for a class party of labor. **Reuther, who like Wallace stands for "enlightened" capitalism, is determined to seize hold of the independent political action movement in labor's ranks and direct it away from class channels back into the old sewer of capitalist politics.** His proposal is for a "third party" of all so-called "progressive" elements now in the two old parties in coalition with the top union bureaucrats. The only difference between what Reuther proposes and the Wallace party is a difference over foreign policy. But Reuther, like Wallace and the Stalinists, are dead set against any genuine party of labor, run by and for the workers through their mass organizations, the unions.

As for the so-called "socialist" party of Norman Thomas, it is just living for the day that it can wind up its independent existence and merge in the broader stream of a party uniting the "progressive" capitalists and workers. In short, Reuther and Norman Thomas both seek the same type of party the Stalinists have everywhere tried to build and to which they give the name, "People's Front."

THE REAL FACT

But all politics is class politics. It is to the interests of the ruling capitalists and their various agents and dupes to conceal this elementary fact of the realities of political life. It is the contrary purpose of the Socialist Workers Party to strip the veil from politics and reveal its true class nature.

It is in this that we differ from all other political parties on the American scene today. We show the workers the true face of politics and call on them to act accordingly by building their own class party.

Have you asked your Friends to Help the Dobbs-Carlson Campaign?

Fascism in the South

Dixiecrats inspired by the Ku Klux Klan greeted Progressive Party presidential candidate Henry Wallace with a barrage of eggs, tomatoes and epithets of "nigger-lover" as he attempted to address unsegregated audiences in North and South Carolina during his current southern tour. Splattered eggs lie at Wallace's feet in Burlington, N. C., as police captain watches the exchange.

New Low for T-H Act

Out in California, members of the struggling National Farm Labor Union (AFL) who are engaged in a bitter life-and-death battle with the 20,000-acre Di Giorgio ranch have just learned by bitter first-hand experience how the viciously unfair NAM-Taft-Hartley Act operates to throttle unions.

It is necessary to know a little of the background to grasp the enormity of this case.

These workers have been on strike for almost a year trying to obtain recognition of their union so it could negotiate livable conditions and wages for the hard-pressed men and women who harvest the fruit and vegetable crops from the vast Di Giorgio ranch which covers 18 square miles and employs 1,500 persons. The employer has the complete backing of the notorious Associated Farmers and California Chamber of Commerce.

In the course of the fight, the union filed charges with the National Labor Relations Board of unfair labor practices by the employer. It also petitioned the NLRB to conduct a collective bargaining election to settle the issue of whether it represents a majority of the workers.

The NLRB threw out both the charges and the petition on the ground that it had no jurisdiction to consider them. It cited the wording of the NAM-Taft-Hartley Act which reads:

"The term employe . . . shall not include any individual employed as an agricultural laborer. . ."

This seemed a definite exclusion of farm labor from the law.

But wait! Came another day and the employer filed charges with the NLRB of unfair labor practices on the part of the unions. Then the same board that had denied the union even a hearing on jurisdictional grounds turned a complete about face and not only backed up the employer's charge with a formal complaint under the NAM-Taft-Hartley Act, but rushed into federal court to ask for an injunction. And it got the injunction.

Issuance of the injunction by Federal Judge Pierson M. Hall on petition of the NLRB restrained the union from engaging in an alleged secondary boycott. The court order was based on a charge that union pickets induced members of other AFL unions not to handle the "hot cargo." This was about the only effective way the union had of fighting the use of strikebreakers imported from Mexico who are held in virtual peonage conditions on the ranch.

Union attorneys attempted in vain to introduce before Judge Hall facts in connection with the Di Giorgio strike and evidence that the NLRB had refused to hold a collective bargaining election. Introduction of such evidence was barred by Judge Hall on the ground that it was not relevant to the secondary boycott charge.

Stating the union's intention to appeal the injunction case, H. L. Mitchell, president, hit at the use by the employer of strikebreakers and child labor brought in to the ranch in violation of state and federal laws. **He also reviewed the efforts of the ranch owner to bust the strike by any means and the shooting of James Price, local union president. Mitchell then said:**

"Now the power of the United States government, represented by the NLRB and the federal courts, has been turned against these defenseless farm workers who are excluded from any of the benefits but are subject to the penalties of the NAM-Taft-Hartley Act."

So, here is a case where the law does not apply if it could help the union, but does apply if it could hurt the union. All of which seems to be a new law for even the NAM-Taft-Hartley Act. Yet this is a proceeding being pushed by the Truman Administration, and we have heard no protests from any rival candidates, including the ineffable Henry Wallace, self-proclaimed friend of farm labor.

(Reprinted from the United Mine Workers Journal.)

The Real Meaning of British Nationalization

By Joseph Hansen

A standing subject for denunciation in the capitalist press is the nationalization of industry in Great Britain.

In contrast to the lush profits currently being shaken down by Big Business from American industry, the capitalist press points to the losses recorded by the nationalized British industries and the fear of the British government to lower those losses by increasing the speed-up.

This is supposed to illustrate the advantages of capitalism and to show that Socialism won't work. According to the editorial writers of the capitalist press, the British experience proves that the working class is incapable of running industry efficiently and Britain had better go back to "private enterprise."

WRECKED BY CAPITALISM

At the first touch of the facts, this fabrication falls to pieces. British industry is not comparable to industry here. Under capitalist management modern improvements lagged in Great Britain so that the bulk of the plants are a half a century behind the times. Major replacements and re-organization are needed throughout British industry.

One of the first tasks facing a Socialist Government in Great Britain is the reconditioning of industries run into the ground under capitalist management. Thus the blame for the shape in which British industry is found today rests squarely on the capitalist class and not on the workers who suffer the consequences of their mismanagement.

Now we come to another hard fact. The British "Labor" Government is NOT socialist. Capitalism remains in Great Britain. The so-called "nationalization" of industry was not a genuine socialist measure. The capitalists were not expropriated. They still remain in management and are continuing to rake in profits through the government bonds awarded them.

The British capitalists were in a bad way at the end of the war. They faced bankruptcy. "Nationalization" saved the coal barons and other industrialists by guaranteeing them returns from their holdings and preventing the workers from going ahead with genuine socialist measures.

LIKE NEW YORK'S SUBWAYS

"Nationalization" in Great Britain resembles most closely what happened in this country when the New York City government took over the subway. The bankers had previously mulcted huge profits out of the subway systems, saddled the system with huge debts and permitted the equipment to run down. Then they unloaded the obsolete rail system on the city and received, in return, guaranteed city bonds, thus continuing to draw their profits out of the city treasury.

As the conservative British magazine, **The Economist**, explains in its June 19 issue, "nationalization" simply meant "Old Boss Writ Large." **Nothing was changed fundamentally.** So far as the workers are concerned, "the old enemy remains in immediate authority."

This issue is now becoming sharper. "Organized labor," says The Economist, **"feels deeply conscious that the worker has too little to say in the direction of industry."**

When the working class kicked the Churchill regime out of office and voted in the Labor Party, they expected an end to the capitalist system and the institution of Socialism. For three years now the Labor Party leadership has refused to carry out this mandate. Instead it is acting as the caretaker of British capitalism. The growing anger of the working class over this is now becoming evident in clashes over the question of management of industry. **More and more union bodies are demanding that the workers have a voice in the management of the "nationalized" industries.**

The government on the other hand insists on keeping the former capitalists in the front office and is now preparing to go even further. Under prodding from Washington, they talk openly of instituting speed-ups on the "American" model and lowering wages.

BATTLE LINES FORMING

The battle lines are clearly shaping up. As reported in last week's **Militant**, 17,000 Austin workers in Birmingham staged a protest strike recently against a company attempt to speed up a gear-box cutter from 280 boxes a day to 360.

The propaganda of the American capitalists against British nationalization is solely designed to confuse the American working class and to turn it away from any support of Socialism. The American workers have the duty of studying the British experience as it will enable them to better understand the mechanics of capitalist rule. **From this they will learn that there IS an answer to capitalist exploitation and anarchy. Not the British Labor Government program of capitalist nationalizations, but a genuine socialist program of expropriation of the capitalists and government ownership and operation of industry under workers' control.**

READ

Fourth International

THE MILITANT ARMY

1,400 Subs Expiring; Send Your Renewals!

This is notice to 1,400 **Militant** subscribers that they will have to renew their subscriptions by mail or at Socialist Workers Party headquarters, if they want to follow **The Militant** through this most spirited election campaign.

200 subs expire this month and 1,200 will expire next month. There is ample time to renew without missing any numbers. Notices are stuffed in this issue, but even if you don't get one, watch the expiration date that appears on every address label, beside or under your name. If the mailing machine has cut it off, check a previous issue.

The most active sub-getters will be busy electioneering from now to Nov. 8, and will not be able to call back on so many subscribers.

* * *

Give your sub-getter friends a breather, by renewing your own sub. Give them a hand by getting friends to subscribe or renew.

* * *

The election news that only **The Militant** publishes becomes more crucial every week. No other paper carries such a challenge to the police-state thought-control methods and war plans of Wall Street's Democratic-Republican coalition government. The **Militant** fights the cause of all labor and pulls no punches because its only allegiance is to the working class. **The Militant's** fight did not begin with this election campaign and will not end Nov. 8.

* * *

"Send me 50 copies of the Labor Day issue," writes a Minnesota railroad worker, enclosing $2. "I'll make good use of them."

* * *

Philadelphia sent "51 subs from our three street meetings this week. The meeings are working out so well that we may try four or five a week."

Subscriptions: $1 per year; 50c for 6 months. Foreign: $2 per year; $1 for 6 months. "Entered as second class matter Mar. 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N. Y., under the act of Mar. 3, 1879."

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Vol. XII—No. 37 Monday, September 13, 1948

TROTSKY

In the past, America has known more than one stormy outburst of revolutionary or semi-revolutionary mass movements. Every time they died out quickly, because America at every time entered a new phase of economic upswing and also because the movements themselves were characterized by crass empiricism and theoretical helplessness. These two conditions belong to the past. . . American capitalism will enter an epoch of monstrous imperialism, of an uninterrupted growth of armaments, of intervention in the affairs of the entire world, of military conflicts and convulsions. . . These radical changes permit us to predict with certainty that the inevitable and relatively rapid, revolutionary transformation of the American proletariat will no more be the former, easily extinguishable "bonfire," but the beginning of a veritable revolutionary conflagration. In America, Communism can face its great future with confidence.

Leon Trotsky, "Germany: The Key to the International Situation," 1931.

LENIN

Kutcher Case and Civil Rights

Two events last week gave fresh emphasis to the importance of the James Kutcher case as a rallying point in labor's defense against the current assault on democratic rights and civil liberties.

The first was the announcement by Congressman Richard M. Nixon, Republican of California, that the House Un-American Committee is considering legislation to circumvent the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution which provides that no person shall be compelled to be a witness against himself in any criminal case.

Under protection of this Amendment a number of victims dragged before the Un-American Committee as "witnesses" in its "spy" inquiries, have refused to testify. The Committee consequently regards the Fifth Amendment as a stumbling block in its witch-hunt.

At present the Committee hopes that the Supreme Court will rule out this protection of the Fifth Amendment. In case the Committee is disappointed, however, it intends to push for a law to get around the Fifth Amendment.

Equally ominous is the passage of a resolution at the convention of the American Bar Association to expel any member who refuses on grounds of the constitutional protection provided by the Fifth Amendment to state whether he is or was a Communist.

These two incidents vividly point up the growing danger of the witch-hunt. The Bill of Rights is under direct fire from many sides.

This mounting witch-hunt and "purge" is like cancer. If nothing is done about it in the early stages then it spreads insidiously until it is beyond cure. The labor movement must take prompt measures if it wishes to preserve democracy in America and along with it its own integrity and existence, Fascism and Nazism in Europe fed on precisely the same kind of red-baiting that is now sinking deep roots in the United States.

By standing up and defending his right to hold a government job no matter what his political views may be, James Kutcher has set a stirring example of the fighting spirit needed to win in the struggle against the witch-hunters. His case can serve to arouse the entire labor movement to action and set in motion a great wave of mass protest against the "loyalty" oaths, the purges, and the whole drive against democratic rights and civil liberties.

Already the *CIO News* has favorably reported how the New Jersey CIO is backing James Kutcher. This encouraging action is a step in the right direction. Every supporter of democratic rights must now do his utmost to bring the James Kutcher case to the attention of the widest possible audience. Let James Kutcher become the symbol of labor's defense of democratic rights and civil liberties in America today.

Peacetime Conscription

Another milestone on the road to World War III was passed last week when the youth of America were compelled to register in Truman's "peace-time" draft.

The Brass Hats rubbed their hands in satisfaction over this fresh human levy which they have been demanding since the end of World War II. And the capitalist press, through editorials and cartoons about "Uncle Sam's" gratitude to the youth for their "willingness" to "defend America" and "fight for democracy," likewise expressed its joy over dragging these young men from their homes, class rooms and jobs into the military machine.

They had reason to gloat. A short time ago they promised that American participation in World War II would bring "four freedoms." Now, within three years after that frightful slaughter, they find it possible to move full steam ahead in Prussianizing the youth of America.

A big share of the responsibility for the shadow of militarism now darkening America lies with the top trade union bureaucracy. These officials have taken a public stand against conscription, thus responding to the sentiments of the membership, who fear the growth of militarism. But insofar as effective action is concerned, this opposition of the top officialdom has proved to be nothing but empty phrases.

The struggle against capitalist militarism is a long and difficult one. In an epoch of wars and revolutions, it means challenging capitalist control in the field of military training as well as in all other fields. To permit Big Business and its military representatives to shape American youth as they see fit means to acquiesce in the construction of an *anti-labor* military machine, one that can and will be used to intimidate and even smash the trade union movement.

Let us not forget that in Germany, under the democratic Weimar regime, the military representatives of Big Business were permitted to get away with full control over the military training of German youth. The military forces became a hotbed of those anti-labor tendencies which later took the shape of Nazism and engulfed democracy in Germany.

To avoid a fate similar to that of the German labor movement, the trade unions must oppose with all their energy the growth of capitalist militarism in America. This does not mean rejecting military training in and of itself. What it does mean is developing a positive program in this field that will safeguard labor's interests and by that token the historic interests of America.

The first points in that program should be "End capitalist conscription! Place military training under full control of the trade unions!"

The Election Laws

The current election campaign has dramatized the existence of scandalous electoral laws throughout this country. Millions are beginning to realize that so-called "free elections" in the U. S. are but a catch phrase to cover up the present near-monopoly of the ballot by the two capitalist-dominated parties. Under Republican and Democratic rule, authoritarianism has struck deep roots in America.

Two recent incidents illustrate this.

In Illinois the State Election Board ruled Wallace's Progressive Party and the Norman Thomas Socialist Party off the ballot on patently false technical grounds.

In Truman's home state of Missouri, the Secretary of State struck the Socialist Party, the Socialist Labor Party and the Christian Nationalist Party off the ballot and told the press, "I am not certifying a ballot for the Progressive Party at this time."

Thus the right of a political party in opposition to the Republicans and Democrats to appear on the ballot has been denied in two more states. Likewise denied is the right of the voters in these two important states to support parties at the polls other than the bi-partisan coalition, if they so choose.

In the Bourbon South, the poll tax, intimidation and terror restrict the vote to a tiny ruling minority. When Wallace toured these states, open fascist-like methods were used to break up his meetings and deny him a hearing.

The bi-partisan coalition is more subtle in the North. Here they rely on a maze of legal technicalities and red tape to keep new parties off the ballot. These "qualifications," varying in detail from state to state but not in arbitrariness, were deliberately concocted by the Republicans and Democrats to maintain their monopoly of the ballot. When it appears that opposition to the two-party set-up has become powerful enough to meet the unreasonable demands, then the Republican and Democratic legislators pass new laws making the barriers still more difficult and onerous.

In the face of the Democratic and Republican boasts about "free elections" in America, the facts reveal an ominous trend toward Hitler-style elections.

Clearing the anti-democratic election laws off the statute books is one of the tasks facing the trade unions in the struggle to build labor's own party. This job can and should be started right now.

SWP $25,000 Election Fund Drive Passes Over the Half-Way Mark

By William F. Warde, National Fund Director

We want to begin this week with the report of a tribute—together with a contribution—from one woman to another. Dr. Rosa Sullivan of Pensacola, Florida, writes: "We are very glad to see a woman running for vice-president. Hope and wish she will be elected. Send me three copies of your Party Platform, as I want to give them to my friends. . .

"We do wish Dr. Carlson success. We know she has the courage, and if she doesn't succeed this time, let her try again. She is paving the road for some woman, some time, to become President of the United States, and if we do have more women in high office, I am sure we will have fewer wars and more peace."

We're glad to see many women coming forward in this campaign to help Grace spread the message of socialism, which will make a world without wars and with enduring peace.

San Francisco and **Minnesota** defied the holidays, heat wave and vacation period to send in sizeable contributions last week. San Francisco's Fund Director Ann Chester comments that the branch is concentrating on the task of collecting signatures to get their three local candidates on the ballot during the next three weeks.

We want to acknowledge a $10 contribution from that staunch Socialist fighter, H. Courts of Cincinnati.

Tacoma takes top honors by being the first of all the branches to pass beyond its quota. We need more members of the 100 Percent Plus Club.

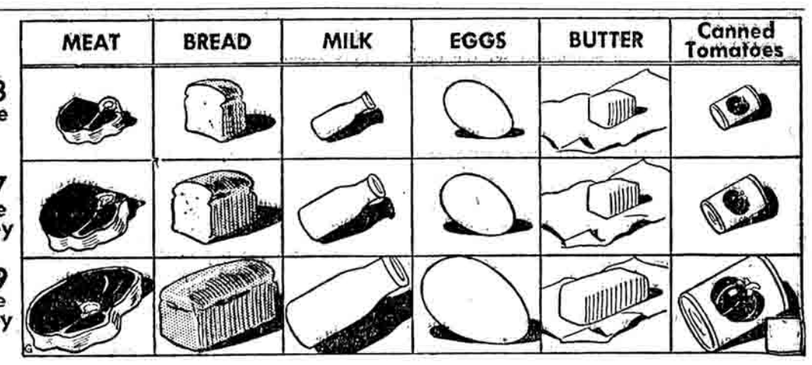
There was a decided drop in the total last week, owing in large part to the holidays. Contributions amounted to $583.

From now on, every branch should determine how much it has to send in weekly in order to fulfill its quota. The last half of the $25,000 Fund should come in faster than the first. Roll in the dollars and we'll keep the Dobbs-Carlson campaign rolling from coast to coast!

Send your contributions to the Dobbs-Carlson Fund, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

SCOREBOARD FOR $25,000 SWP ELECTION FUND

Branch	Quota	Paid	Percent
Tacoma	50	61	120
Allentown	50	50	100
Rochester	50	50	100
Milwaukee	400	379	95
St. Louis	50	44	88
Philadelphia	500	425	85
Seattle	600	500	83
Baltimore	50	40	80
West Virginia	100	70	70
Minnesota	2,000	1,392	70
Reading	150	95	60
Cleveland	400	237	59
Newark	750	425	57
New York City	7,500	4,127	55
Flint	400	216	54
Youngstown	800	385	48
Los Angeles	2,500	1,115	45
San Francisco-Oakland	1,500	654	43
Pittsburgh	200	80	40
Detroit	1,600	610	38
Chicago	2,000	771	38
Boston-Lynn	400	130	32
Toledo	200	57	28
San Diego	50	13	26
Buffalo	1,000	237	23
Connecticut	250	17	8
Akron	400	10	3
General	1,075	118	11
Total	$25,000	$12,752	51



Food symbols on this chart show what your money bought in 1939, in comparison with current purchasing power. In a recent survey of major cities, meat prices were 25% higher than last year and 200% over 1939; bread up 17% from 1947, 75% over 1939; milk up 90% over 1939 and canned tomatoes 133% over pre-war. (Federated Pictures)

WORKERS FORUM

A Criticism

Editor:

Enclosed please find $1.00 remittance for the continuation of my Militant subscription for another year. I find the paper extremely interesting, although I should like to register a criticism. In the August 9 edition, in an article by Art Sharon under the title "Quill Opens War On Stalinist Faction in Transport Union," two officials of that union, Hogan and Santos are exposed as being Stalinists. Also a union attorney, Harry Sacher, is mentioned as a Stalinist. I don't know whether these people are recognized as authoritative spokesmen for the CP. If they are, I guess my criticism becomes invalidated, but if they aren't, couldn't this expose be considered as fingering political opponents? If such is the case, I am sure that it is due to an oversight, but nevertheless, a careful editing of all articles of this nature, should be made to prevent any recurrence of this.

R. H.
San Francisco

Ed. Note: Our designation of Hogan, Santos and a number of other officials of the Transport Workers Union as "Stalinists" is a political designation of the policies that they openly and avowedly practice, and not an exposure of their political affiliations. We did not say or imply that they were or were not members of the Communist Party, or any other organization.

* * *

Impressed With SWP Election Campaign

Editor:

I have received my copy of the special SWP Convention issue of The Militant and, boy, I can say that I have never before seen the like of it, with its bold declaration of program. For the first time I now see in print the transitional demands as the basis of an election program and after our experiences of the Labor Party back in Blighty it is a treat for tired eyes.

My very best wishes for success of campaign and I am even more eager now to get back to Blighty and get my feet planted squarely in British section's struggle for emancipation of workers.

L. F. W.
With British Forces in Egypt

Old Man of the Sea

Editor:

The Old Man of the Sea is one of the most highly entertaining stories of the Arabian Nights. It portrays the plight of Sinbad the Sailor after he rescued an old duffer from the sea—the result being that Sinbad was burdened night and day by the old barnacle clinging around his neck. The working people of the U.S. at present carry on their toilworn and overtaxed necks, an Old Man of the Sea burden which they should shake off. It is the enormous number of adult persons who do no useful productive work of any kind.

We should take a long sobering look at the state of the nation. We support a UN with its 2,500 bureau employes each drawing more salary than any railroad engineer or coal miner and whose Chief receives an income larger than the U.S. President with more emoluments, too. Yet the entire UN outfit has not been worth a nickel value to any taxpayer.

Preaching has become almost as highly profitable a business in the U.S. as spy hunting and union strike-busting.

But it won't be long boys, it won't be long.

The Old Man of the Sea must be made a castaway!

M.B.
Central Islip, N.Y.

NEWARK FORUM
The Truth About James Kutcher

● ***An answer to the Newark Star-Ledger attack on the legless veteran fired from the Veterans Administration for belonging to the Socialist Workers Party.***

speaker:
GEORGE BREITMAN
SWP candidate
for U. S. Senate
chairman:
WM. E. BOHANNAN
SWP candidate
for Congress
FRIDAY, SEPT. 17
at 8:30 p. m.
423 Springfield Ave.
auspices: Socialist Workers Party

"CIO News" Reports On Kutcher Case

CIO News for Sept. 6th carried the photograph which appeared in last week's issue of The Militant featuring James Kutcher, Carl Holderman, President of the N. J. CIO Council Rev. John Daniel and George Novack of the CRDC. The CIO News' caption reads: "CIO Fights for Vet: The New Jersey CIO joins in the fight to win the reinstatement of Joseph Kutcher, legless war veteran, fired from his job at the Newark, N. J., Veterans' Administration office because of his membership in the Socialist Workers Party."

Latin American Notes

By J. Gomez

The loosening of central ties in the Stalinist machine highlighted in the break between the Communist Party of Yugoslavia with the Cominform is being duplicated to a lesser extent in the Stalinist parties of Latin America, particularly in those which function legally.

Previously splits have taken place in the Stalinist parties of Colombia, Venezuela, Cuba, Peru and Argentina.

Two more serious splits had occurred recently in Mexico and Peru. In Mexico, the break from the CP was directed by such leading elements as Carlos Sanchez Cardenas and Alberto Lumbreras. The split-off group calls itself the "Committee of Restoration" and publishes a paper called **El Machete**, which is also the name of the CP organ. In Peru, the District Committee of Lima broke with the national CP leadership.

In neither Mexico nor Peru did the splits take place around a clear-cut political program of revolutionary anti-Stalinism, although there is no lack of accusations of "Trotskyism" on the part of the Stalinists. The leading elements of the opposition belong to the "Third Period" school of Stalinism. Although their program is highly confused, it does take its point of departure from the class struggle in contrast to the present Stalinist policy of "People's Frontism" and "national unity" — that is, of avowed class collaboration.

This is the second crisis that is convulsing the CP in Peru. In the previous one, Ravines, who was the recognized leader of the Communist Party of Peru, developed the Stalinist program of "national unity" to its ultimate conclusion of collaborating with the capitalists. After the new Stalinist turn, he decided to leave the ranks of organized Stalinism and to practice "national unity" on his own.

The conflict between the "Third Period" Stalinists and the "People's Fronters" has been the driving force behind all the splits and struggles that are now taking place in the Stalinist parties of Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Cuba, Argentina, etc.

Although these struggles and splits are thus lacking in programmatic clarity and objectives, they are manifestations, to one degree or another, of the accumulation of contradictory forces under the political roof of Stalinism. The absence of political clarity can be best understood in the light of the following general considerations: 1) **The organized labor movement of Latin America, particularly so far as the political parties are concerned, is very young, lacking in both tradition and experience. 2) The revolutionary anti-capitalist forces of Latin America, due to the lack of any other strong revolutionary groups, had no other course but to pass through the political school of Stalinism. In the majority of Latin American countries it was the Third International, particularly in the Stalinist era, that first raised the banner of building parties of the working class.** 3) Consequently, Stalinism, with its zigzagging contradictory positions, had the effect of corrupting and confusing the young revolutionary anti-capitalist forces of Latin America. 4) On the other hand the continental forces of the Fourth International have heretofore been organizationally and politically weak.

The political lesson to be drawn from these events is that the Stalinist parties are convulsed by a basic contradiction, that present splits are only a manifestation of this crisis and that more splits are bound to occur. In light of the Yugoslav affair and the numerous splits in Latin America, it is clear that Stalinism is far from being a homogeneous political entity. It is, on the contrary, full of heterogeneous and contradictory elements, which given the opportunity, violently clash with one another.

It is therefore the duty and opportunity of the parties of the Fourth International to help in a fraternal way the militant elements of the Stalinist parties to find their way to answer the betrayals of their leaders, and toward the regroupment of these militants around the Marxist banner of the Fourth International.

A NEW PAMPHLET — JUST OUT!

A Letter to American Negroes
by William E. Bohannan

● Born in Savannah, Georgia, William E. Bohannan moved with his family to Newark, N. J., when he was five years old.

● Bohannan has played a prominent role as a member or officer of both CIO and AFL unions. He is a member of the executive board of the Newark Branch of the NAACP and was one of the organizers of the Newark unit of the March on Washington movement.

● He is now the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congressman from the 11th District in New Jersey in the November elections.

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CLEVELAND—Militant Forum, Sun., 8:30 p. m., Peck's Hall, 1446 E. 82nd St. (off Wade Park Ave.).

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FLINT—Socialist Workers Party Hall, 215 E. Ninth Street. Phone: 2-2496. Open House Saturday evenings.

LOS ANGELES—Militant Publ. Assn., Room 201, 124 W. 6th St. Phone VAndyke 8061.

SAN PEDRO—Militant, 1008 S. Pacific Room 214.

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LYNN, (Mass.)—Militant Pub'l Ass'n, 44 Central Ave., office open Tues., Wed. 7:30-9:30 p. m.

MILWAUKEE—SWP State Campaign Headquarters, 608 S. 5th St. Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 p. m. Phone BRoadway 2-9645.

MINNEAPOLIS—10 So. 4th St. Phone Main 7781. Daily except Sun., 10 a. m.-5 p. m. Library, bookstore.

NEW BRITAIN, (Conn.)—Militant Discussion Group every Fri. 7:30 p.m. Militant Labor Club, 165 Main St. (next to Strand Theatre).

NEW HAVEN — Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd fl., Tues. 8-10:30 p. m.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone Bigelow 3-2574. Reading room. Open daily, 12-4 and 7-10 p.m.

NEW YORK CITY (Ha.)—116 University Pl. Phone GR. 5-8149.

EAST SIDE—251 E. Houston St. 1st fl.

HARLEM—103 W. 110 St., Rm. 23 Phone MO. 2-1866. Open discussion. Thurs., 8 p. m.

BRONX—1034 Prospect Ave., 1st fl. Phone LU. 9-0101.

BROOKLYN—635 Fulton St. Phone ST. 3-7433.

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PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd fl. Phone Stevenson 4-5820. Open daily. Forum, Fri., 8 p. m.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd fl. Sunday evening discussions on "The SWP Election Program". Every week, 7:30 P. M.

SAN DIEGO (Cal.)—SWP, 432 "F" St., Room 301.

SAN FRANCISCO—1739 Fillmore Ave., 4th fl. Phone FI. 6-0410. Daily except Sun., 12-4:30 p. m.

SEATTLE—Maynard Bldg., 1st Ave., South & Washington. Phone Main 9278. Mon. through Sat., 12-5 p. m. Branch meeting, Fri., 8 p. m. Library, bookstore.

ST. LOUIS—1023 N. Grand Blvd., Rm. 312. Militant Forums. Thurs., 7-30-10 p.m.

ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St. Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily. Bookstore.

TOLEDO — Weekly meetings every Friday night at 7:30, Kapps Hall, 413 Summit, Room 1, top fl.

YOUNGSTOWN — 234 E. Federal St., Phone 3-1353. Wed., Fri., Sat., 1:30 to 4 p. m.

THE MILITANT

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SWP Presidential Tour

A Week in the Twin Cities

By Farrell Dobbs

TWIN CITIES, Sept. 8—High point of my visit here was the large turnout of packinghouse militants at the St. Paul meeting. I welcomed the opportunity to pay tribute to them for their heroic strike struggle against the profiteering meat trust.

The CIO packinghouse workers in Minnesota set the pace for the whole union in the recent nation-wide strike. They stood their ground against court injunctions, police clubs and national guard bayonets.

They fought in the tradition of the famous Minneapolis truck drivers' strikes of 1934, which smashed the union-busting Citizens' Alliance and opened the road to unionization throughout the state and region.

In their ranks were a number of veterans of the 1934 battles who are now employed in the packing industry.

When Philip Murray and other CIO leaders failed to come to their aid, the packinghouse workers were starved into returning to work with only a small wage gain. But they went back with their colors flying above firm ranks.

The packinghouse workers came to hear me speak both as the presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party and as a leader in the 1934 Minneapolis truck drivers strike. We quickly found a meeting of minds on the need for militant union policy backed up by independent labor political action.

My appearance at the SWP election rally in Minneapolis was the occasion for a reunion of the men who built General Drivers Local 544. After the meeting, we sat up until 4 A. M. discussing the problem of smashing the Tobin dictatorship over the union.

Under Tobin's present iron rule, the rights of the membership are ruthlessly violated, working agreements with the employers are only a poor imitation of a union contract and little is done to enforce them.

I challenged Tobin's henchmen to meet me in a public debate on the question of democracy and general policy in the Teamsters' Union. They didn't dare accept the challenge. Because the only "arguments" they have are blackjacks and shady deals with the employers to fire workers who oppose them.

Rank and file resentment against Tobin and his goons is widespread. At present the militants are biding their time, preparing to seize the first chance to deal Tobin a real blow. When that opportunity comes, history will again be made in Minnesota.

I also talked with a group of railroad workers. They informed me that sentiment for independent labor political action is gaining momentum in the ranks of the rail unions.

There is much indignation among railroad workers over A. F. Whitney's endorsement of Strikebreaker Truman.

We got in some licks in defense of James Kutcher, legless war veteran, fired by the callous bureaucrats of the Veterans' Administration because he is a member of the Socialist Workers Party. Both in the press and over the radio this outrage has been made known to the people of Minnesota.

A former conscientious objector, whom we met in the Sandstone penitentiary, attended two of the public meetings. Then he joined the Party. At the same time, the wife of a Local 544 militant came into our ranks to stand shoulder to shoulder with her husband in the fight for socialism.

The Minnesota comrades are now squaring off for the petition campaign to put the party ticket on the ballot. You may be sure there is going to be a first-class SWP campaign in these parts.

My report would not be complete without mention of the efficient local preparations for my visit. Every detail, from the preliminary press releases to the organization of physical facilities for the meetings, was handled in the Trotskyist manner—it was done right.

From the Rubber Capital

By Grace Carlson

Now and again, every speaker is startled by some questioner in the audience. Last week in Akron, I was especially surprised by one of the questions. It was a mild enough question. Immediately after the chairman announced that the question period was open, a worker stood up and asked, "Could you tell me what time it is?"

After ferreting out the time on the watch I had borrowed for the occasion, I told him that it was 9:45 p. m. Then he said, "I'll have to get back to work. I just took off a couple of hours with this brother here. But I want to tell you that I'm going to join up. What I heard here tonight are the things I've been thinking about for a long time. I don't always get a chance to say them that way, but I believe that you're on the right path, and I want to add my weight."

That was certainly a very gratifying conclusion to what had been all around a lively meeting.

It was made doubly gratifying later when another rubber unionist came up and expressed his desire to join the Socialist Workers Party.

Yesterday I met these same workers at an old-fashioned political picnic held by the Ohio State section of the Party. With the zeal of the new comrades, one of these workers had brought out a friend to meet our people and to learn about the Socialist Worker's Party's program.

It was a good introduction to Trotskyism, because this was a real working class gathering. Baseball rivalries engrossed the attention of a large part of the group. It was Akron against the rest of Ohio—9 to 6! No one ever asks me my advice about baseball, but I don't mind saying that what this game lacked in professional technique, was more than made up for by the vim, vigor and vitality of the players.

Games and contests for the children, an auction of a super-special smoked ham and a short speech by the vice-presidential candidate rounded out the day's program. And a good time was had by the candidate—and I think by all.

Politics as She Is Played

By Joseph Hansen

William O'Dwyer, ex-cop who climbed the slippery rungs of the Tammany ladder to become Mayor of the world's largest city and win undying notoriety as the first stooge of the real estate interests willing to risk his political neck on raising New York's nickel subway fare to a dime, is currently conducting a crusade against "Communism and all else unholy" that Representative Vito Marcantonio of the 18th Congressional District "stands for."

O'Dwyer's crusade against the unholy specter of Marcantonio consists of firing every person placed on the city payroll through the political "influence" of the 18th District boss right down to $1,080 a year laborers.

Now, Marcantonio, who wears the button of the American Labor Party and speaks with the voice of Stalin, was not known to be on the outs in the smoke-filled back rooms where Tammany Hall processes "influence" in New York. Didn't the Stalinists help grease O'Dwyer's way into office on the promise he would save the five-cent fare?

Marcantonio spilled the inside dope to the press as follows: One day, it seems, he gets a buzz on the phone from the Mayor and another political footpad, Hugo E. Rogers, head of Tammany Hall. How about kicking O. John Rogge off the ALP ballot, they proposition him; and put on a deserving Tammany ward-heeler instead; namely, Honest John A. Mullen, who is hungry to be Surrogate of New York County?

In return for favors rendered, they tell Marcantonio, who is listening all the time on the other end of the line, they will slip the knife on the QT to another Tammany ward-heeler; namely, Honest John P. Morrisey who is the unlucky "stiff" listed to run against Marcantonio himself. Morrisey is just a "dumbhead" anyway, the Mayor tells Marcantonio, and if the ALP boss will play along, why he and the Mayor and pal Hugo E. Rogers "can do plenty in this town."

Naturally, Marcantonio, a very pious politician when making a statement to the press, turns the proposition down "flatly" at once "as courteously as I could." First, he explains to the Mayor and Hugo E. Rogers, who are waiting on the phone for his answer, that he has already proved his undying "friendship." Didn't he go out of his way to lift Hugo E. Rogers up "off the political junk pile" and make him Borough President? Hasn't the Mayor "time and time again asked for my aid and received it?"

But O'Dwyer is a true Tammany product with a thirst for blood like a tiger. He drops the "bribe" technique and tries to "intimidate me," Marcantonio explains to the press, insisting that Honest John A. Mullen be lifted up off the political junk pile too.

This time, however, the ALP boss can't see his way clear to "go along." So he bangs up his receiver and the Mayor and Hugo E. Rogers bang up the receiver they have both been using.

Nothing might ever have come out about what a rotten corrupt type the Mayor of the largest city in the world is if it had been left up to Marcantonio, because this Stalinist chieftain extended the Mayor the courtesy of not blabbing a word about this proposition to a single soul except a few bosom pals "to protect myself" just in case some reliable witnesses might be needed.

O'Dwyer didn't appreciate that courtesy. Instead, he stabbed the ALP boss in the back by lopping his henchmen off the city payroll. That's when Marcantonio's political integrity wouldn't let him remain silent any longer and he decided to let the people in on what a rotten type bum is at the head of their fair city. He called in the press and gave them a statement in black and white that O'Dwyer is a "double-talking, double-dealing, double-crossing hypocrite."

Don't get Marcantonio wrong though. He doesn't intend to start any crusades. He's just serving notice not to mess with his influence on the city payroll. If you can talk business, he's still available. For instance, on the very same day he called the Mayor of the biggest city in the world a "double-crossing hypocrite," the 18th District boss let everybody know his machine is going "all out" in the 21st Congressional District for the election of Tammany's choice for Congress; namely, Honest Paul O'Dwyer, the Mayor's own brother.

Notes from the News

POLISH CRISIS—Apparently a crisis similar to that of Yugoslavia is convulsing the Communist Party of Poland. Wladyslaw Gomulka, Polish Vice-Premier, previously built up as one of the major Stalinist "fuehrers," has been dismissed from his post as the Communist Party General Secretary and has been publicly castigated for "failure to understand the leading role of the Russian Party," for "nationalist tendencies" and for opposing the Cominform's denunciation of Tito. The difference is that in Yugoslavia Tito has the upper hand, whereas in Poland, the Kremlin agents isolated Gomulka.

* * *

VATICAN HISTORY — Pope Pius XII told German Catholics in a broadcast over the Vatican radio on the occasion of the Catholic celebration in Mainz that "your destroyed cities are speaking symbols" of the "slogan of violent overthrow of every social order, published 100 years ago." In other words Marx and Engels and the Communist Manifesto are responsible for the devastation of Germany. The Pontiff did not mention the extent of responsibility of Hitler, the German trusts or imperialism.

* * *

"YELLOW DOG" AFFIDAVITS — The NLRB reports that 81,953 officers of national and local unions have signed the Taft-Hartley affidavits. 30 out of 41 CIO unions, and 89 out of 102 AFL unions have complied. 45 Independent unions have likewise signed up.

* * *

NLRB UNION BUSTING — The latest outrageous ruling of the Taft-Hartley NLRB is that workers striking for economic reasons are not eligible to vote in an NLRB election held during the walkout, if scabs have replaced them.

Auto Union Militants Wage Strong Fight For Democracy at Detroit CIO Convention

Special to THE MILITANT

DETROIT, Sept. 5—The most turbulent convention the Michigan labor movement has seen since 1937 reached a climax on Saturday afternoon when Adolph Germer, representative of the national CIO, acting on authority of Philip Murray, dictatorially took over the Wayne County CIO.

This action came after a two-and-a-half day battle which saw the power machine of Reuther and Emil Mazey stalled in its tracks. The attempts of the Reutherites to stampede the convention failed.

The issue which shaped the battle and dominated this convention is one of the most vital confronting the labor movement—the question of democracy within the unions. The constitution of the Wayne County CIO Council provides for representation and voting strength to local unions in accordance with the per capita they had paid over the previous 12-month period. The constitution further states that local unions affiliated with the Council for less than three months be entitled to one delegate with one vote, providing they had paid one month per capita at least 30 days previous to the convening date of the convention.

CONSTITUTIONAL CLAUSE

These sections of the constitution assumed importance in the convention fight because auto union West Side Local 174, a Reuther stronghold, stopped paying per capita to the Council a year ago, when the local was unsuccessful in electing its slate of officers. A number of smaller Reuther-dominated locals likewise pulled out of the Council at that time. Over 95% of the CIO locals in the area, however, remained affiliated and continued to pay per capita to the Council. Local 174 had once before withdrawn from the Council when it was unable to elect its slate of officers. **In an effort to maintain the unity of the Council at that time, Local 174 and a number of other locals had then been permitted to reaffiliate with the Council with full voting strength, without payment of back per capita. However, at last year's convention, with the adoption of the constitution of the Council, the delegates served notice that they would no longer tolerate this hitchhiking policy of Local 174.**

Following the Reuther victory at the auto union convention last November, the Reuther-Murray forces served an ultimatum on the Wayne CIO Council that it take positive action in support of the Marshall Plan and in condemnation of Henry Wallace. This the Council delegates refused to do by an overwhelming vote, and declared the ultimatum an infringement on the democratic rights of the Council and its members. However, at no time did the Council take formal action in direct violation of this ultimatum: It has not endorsed Wallace or repudiated the Marshall Plan.

After a series of further skirmishes, a "peace" ultimatum was issued by Allan Haywood and Philip Murray, ordering the Council to call a convention and to include the non-affiliated locals with full voting strength upon the payment by these locals of one month's per capita to the Council and three months per capita to the national CIO.

Facing the alternative of convening a convention on this basis or having an administrator assume control, the Council officers reluctantly and under protest convened the convention, which began last Thursday night.

BATTLE JOINED

From the moment the convention was called to order by President Tracy Doll the battle was joined. An attempt by the Resolutions Committee to gain approval for a resolution in support of the DeSoto Local 227 workers, who had been forced to strike because of the firing of workers for leaving their jobs during the record-breaking heat, was interrupted by Horace Sheffield of the Production Foundry Unit of Local 600, whose credentials had been challenged on the grounds of fraud in his unit elections. Sheffield, in an hysterical speech, charged that the resolution was an attempt to stall the convention and demanded an immediate report of the Credentials Committee. **This action of Sheffield touched off a near riot by the Reuther supporters, so that the convention was unable to proceed for 30 minutes. When partial order was restored, the resolution was adopted with a number of Reuther delegates voting in opposition. As soon as this piece of business was off the floor, organized disruption broke out anew. The turmoil was so bad that Chairman Doll was finally compelled to adjourn the session until the following morning.**

When the convention reconvened, only delegates whose credentials had not been challenged were permitted on the floor. The Sergeant-at-Arms staff had been tripled in an attempt to maintain order.

The first test of strength came on the report of the Rules Committee. This Committee had unanimously agreed on a set of rules patterned after those used at the Reuther-dominated Michigan CIO Convention several months ago. At the last moment, without the knowledge of the other members of the Rules Committee, two Reutherites on the Committee announced they had a minority report to present to the convention. The Reutherites renewed their disruption, demanding that the minority of the Committee make their report to the convention, without even acquainting the majority of the Committee with the points in dispute. With bedlam on the convention floor, the Rules Committee met and heard the proposed changes of the minority. No agreement could be reached on the disputed point and two reports were then presented to the convention. The majority proposal, in accordance with past practice at CIO conventions, called for an expression of 40% of the convention to secure a roll call vote. The minority proposed that 20% be sufficient to obtain a roll call. **The Reutherite proposal carried by a margin of 172 to 165.**

The convention then adopted a number of resolutions. Among these was a resolution condemning the use of injunctions and troops to break strikes, which named President Truman by name; a resolution on discrimination against minorities; and a resolution condemning the House Un-American Activities Committee. In discussing this Resolution, Committee Chairman Paul Silvers answered delegates who expressed approval of actions of this reactionary Congressional Committee against the Stalinists with the statement: **"In my opinion the Communist Party should be tried in a Court of Labor for the crimes it has committed against the labor movement. We cannot, however, go along with the un-democratic, witch-hunt, smear campaign of this reactionary Committee which is aimed against the whole labor movement." Later a resolution condemning the raiding of legitimate unions—of which the Reuther leadership has been particularly guilty—was passed over some opposition.**

CREDENTIALS REPORT

On Saturday morning, the Credentials Committee presented their final report on the disputed delegates. The Committee unanimously recommended that delegates be seated in accordance with the Wayne County CIO Constitution, and that those locals which had not paid their per capita through the year, be seated with the delegate and one vote. A roll call vote was demanded, which began about 2 p.m. and was completed shortly before 4 p.m. The tellers, representing both points of view, then retired from the convention to tally the vote. The voting strength of the individual delegates varied from local to local and in many cases included fractional votes. From the approximate talleys taken during the roll call vote it was apparent that the vote was close and only the final report of the tellers could dispose of the issue.

The convention resumed at 4:30 p.m. At 5:30 p.m., the time scheduled for final adjournment in the rules, the tellers had not yet returned with the results of the vote. Vice-President Smith, who was in the chair at this time, thereupon adjourned the convention to reconvene Sunday morning at 10 a.m.

At this point, apparently fearful that the roll call vote had upheld the Credentials Committee, Adolph Germer announced he had assumed authority over the convention and would act as an administrator for the national CIO. Thus, after disrupting and stalling the convention for two and a half days, the Reuther forces used the inability of the convention to complete its business on schedule as an excuse for Germer taking over as administrator. Germer's assumption of authority even violated his mandate from Philip Murray. The instructions in the final Murray dictum to the convention were that Germer would assume administrative authority if the convention refused to seat the delegates from the disputed locals with full voting strength. Ironically, the roll call vote showed that the delegates had rejected the Credentials Committee report by a vote of 1,403 to 1,108.

DICTATOR GERMER

Germer thus took over the convention as administrator just as the convention, by roll call vote, indicated by a narrow margin its willingness to accede to the Murray decree!

Germer ordered a continuation of the convention on Sunday morning at the UAW Local 174 Hall with himself as chairman.

On Sunday morning two conventions met. At the Germer convention, hand-picked committees were immediately chosen to quickly run through the balance of business. This convention had approximately 300 in attendance, including not only the Reuther forces, but also a number of oppositionists. The latter, despite the bureaucratic action, were reluctant to break with the body, which rightly or wrongly, had the title of the official CIO.

At Local 157 Hall, the bulk of the opposition forces met on schedule with Doll, Council president, in the chair.

After hearing a report of the results of the roll call, the group turned their attention to the problem of what to do in the face of the decree of the administrator. The Stalinists pushed hard for a continuation of the convention right to the establishment of a dual body. Their proposal met with the solid opposition of the leaders of the anti-Reuther forces in the auto union. **Beginning with Claude Bland, president of Hudson Local 154, speaker after speaker took the floor to condemn the action of Germer but at the same time stressing the need of continuing the fight for democracy within the CIO.**

CUNNINGHAM MOTION

Finally, delegate Tom Cunningham of Chrysler Local 7, considered for a long time to be a close co-worker with the Stalinist, took the floor to move that in view of the results of the roll call and the action of the administrator, the meeting recess and the delegates move in a body to the Germer convention at Local 174 Hall. Lloyd Jones, president of Murray Local 2, Ned Coleman, president of Amalgamated Local 205; Richard T. Leonard, president of DeSoto Local 227 and chairman of the newly formed Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW, spoke in support of this position.

For purposes of the vote the question was divided and the question of going in a bloc to the Germer convention was put separately. This proposal was ruled lost on a hand vote. The motion to adjourn the convention was then carried with the understanding that the question of attending the Germer convention was up to the individual delegations themselves.

The bulk of the auto delegates then proceeded to the Germer convention. As they entered the hall with Richard T. Leonard in the lead, they received a standing ovation from the assembled delegates. Nominations for officers was taking place as the new group entered the hall. The name of Ernest Mazey, Executive Board member of Briggs Local 212 UAW-CIO, and one of the leaders of the opposition to the bureaucratic decree of the national CIO, was placed in nomination for the Council Presidency. Additional oppositionists were nominated for the other major posts.

When the time arrived for acceptance or declination, Mazey took the mike and made a statement on behalf of the group which had carried the fight for democracy and which was pledged to continue the fight within the CIO. After reviewing the developments of the previous days and the anti-democratic trend in the CIO, Mazey, declared:

INSIDE CIO

"There are those who are ready to turn their backs on the CIO in protest to the terribly undemocratic actions we have witnessed in recent days. For my part, and for all those associated with me in this fight of the past few days who now sit in this convention, we say openly and clearly so all can hear: We do not intend to turn our backs on the fight to restore democracy in the CIO. We intend to remain within the CIO to continue the fight for a restoration of democracy, together with our fellow CIO members.

"However, in view of the action of yesterday evening and this morning, in violation of the traditional democracy of the CIO, I must say I have no alternative but to decline this nomination in this undemocratic convention."

Mazey's remarks were greeted with an enthusiastic burst of applause and considerably upset Adolph Germer, who was on the platform at the time. He quickly took the mike in an attempt to pacify the delegates and to soften the effects of Mazey's declination speech.

Tom Cunningham, nominee for Secretary-Treasurer, took the floor to decline and associate himself with Mazey's remarks. Paul Silver, nominated for Executive Vice-President, declined with the comment, "I refuse to be a candidate in this drama." Germer had referred to the battle for democracy at the convention as a "drama."

IMPORTANT GAINS

Although the immediate battle has been lost, important gains in the long-term fight for the restoration of militancy and democracy in the UAW and CIO have been registered.

The decisive defeat of the Stalinist attempt to set up a dual Council after the administrator took over in order to serve their own narrow, limited interests and the sharp break made with them on this issue by a number of leading figures of the UAW who had previously cooperated with them, must be recorded as an important gain.

Finally, the role of the convention of the recently formed Committee for a Militant and Democratic UAW has won friends and supporters and set the stage for additional gains in the period ahead.

CIO Leaders Back Strikebreaker

President Truman, who holds a record for breaking strikes and issuing anti-union injunctions, gets a double handshake from CIO President Philip Murray (r.) and Secretary-Treasurer James B. Carey (l.) following endorsement of the Democratic ticket by a 35-12 vote of the CIO executive board. In background are Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey (l.) of the United Auto Workers and CIO-PAC chairman Jack Kroll. (Federated Pictures)

FAIRCHILD STRIKE LOST AFTER 5-MONTH BATTLE

LONG ISLAND, New York—After a 30-week strike against the company, Local 1217 of the CIO United Electrical and Machine workers of America called off the strike last week, when a majority of the members voted to end the hopeless struggle. It was a complete victory for the Fairchild Camera and Instrument Corporation, due largely to the aid of brutal picket-slugging cops, and the lack of effective aid to the local from the Stalinist-dominated District and International leadership.

The 400 production workers at Fairchild went on strike in April in protest against the company's union-breaking contract which they were asked to accept. The main issue was one of union seniority. The question of signing Taft-Hartley affidavits was not brought up until the 7th week of the strike.

From the first days of the strike, the Stalinist International leaders showed they were not concerned whether the workers won their battle or not. Only half-way through the long and bitter fight did the International leaders succumb to the pressure of the other locals and give slight financial aid to the strikers. On the other hand, the workers from other locals, chiefly Sperry, gave vigorous aid on the picket line and contributed financially to the courageous Fairchild strikers.

The greatest scandal of the long struggle was the treatment accorded the pickets by the cops. They clubbed and arrested pickets. In the last weeks, mounted policemen deliberately ran down pickets. Fifteen pickets were arrested and sent to jail. Most of them are still awaiting trial, while out on bail. **The scabs were gathered at the police precinct station and herded into buses there. At the plant gates, the bus driver would give a signal, and the plant police opened a lane for the scabs to go through, protected from the striking workers by solid lines of armed police. This was repeated morning after morning.**

After the strike was lost came the most humiliating scene of all. The workers were herded into the plant yard, lined up against the plant walls, and the foreman of the plant came out and, under protection of plant policemen, pointed out one by one the workers he would consent to take back to work. Only about 70 were mockingly informed they would be notified when wanted.

Local 1217 is no longer in existence. The Fairchild workers will now be represented by a company-recognized "Independent Radio and Machine Workers," a union formed by 100 scabs who worked while the strike was in progress. The only other plant in Local 1217, employing less than 200 workers, was notified by the company a few weeks ago that it would no longer recognize the 1217 representatives as bargaining agents.

Because of the non-Stalinist leadership of Local 1217, the Stalinist District and International union leaders stood by and let the courageous workers battle practically unaided and thus condemned the strike to failure.

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